

## *Spanish Politics and Cultural Transfer in the Diaries of Ernst Adalbert of Harrach*

Katrin Keller

Between 1630 and 1667 Cardinal Ernst Adalbert of Harrach wrote down –in Italian and German– various events of his life as well as things heard and read and thus documented the political and cultural development of his time. The personal notes of Cardinal Ernst Adalbert of Harrach (1598–1667) are kept in the Harrach family archive in the Austrian State Archive (department: *Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv*, AVA) in Vienna. The result was a personal testimonial which is singular in the historical tradition of this period (at least in the German speaking area) due to its size –the edited text contains 3048 pages in German and 2168 pages in Italian–, its content-related diversity and its specific circumstances of origin. All in all 26 volumes in Italian and 27 in German remained. For the years starting with 1637 –excluding 1649, 1650, 1656, 1658 till 1662 and 1664– an Italian and a German version still exist <sup>1</sup>.

Although the existence of these notes has been known since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century <sup>2</sup>, historians consulted them very rarely <sup>3</sup> and outside of Austria and

<sup>1</sup> For more detailed information about the sources see also [www.univie.ac.at/geschichte/harrach](http://www.univie.ac.at/geschichte/harrach).

<sup>2</sup> For example F. TADRA: „Počátkové semináře arcibiskupského v Praze“, in *Sborník historický* 2 (1884), pp. 193–279, 339–348; F. TADRA: „Arnošt Vojtěch hrabě Harrach Kardinál a Arcibiskup pražský (1623–1667)“, in *Nedělní listy Hlasu Národa* (8.08.1886), pp. 84–85; F. MENČÍK: *Příspěvky k dějinám českého divadla* (Rozpravy České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění v Praze třída 1, 4, 3), Praha 1895; F. MENČÍK: „Volba papeže Innocenc X.“, in *Rozpravy České Akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění* 1, 4, Praha 1894, pp. 1–56; Z. KALISTA: *Mládí Humprechta Jana Černína z Chudenic. Zrození barokního kavalíra*, Praha 1932.

<sup>3</sup> G. MECENSEFFY: *Im Dienst dreier Habsburger. Leben und Wirken des Fürsten Johann Weikhard Auersperg (1615–1677)*, Wien–Leipzig 1938, pp. 354–361; T. WINKELBAUER: *Fürst*

the Czech Republic they were usually neglected. Over the last years a team at the University of Vienna has worked on making this comprehensive source accessible to the scientific community. In this article, based on the findings of this team and on the published edition <sup>4</sup>, I would like to make three points: Firstly, I am going to focus on the biography of Ernst Adalbert of Harrach, because he and his work as Archbishop of Prague is more or less forgotten today. Secondly, I would like to characterize the source and the historical context of the diaries and *Tagzettel* (daily notes), and finally I am going to analyse the contents of the diaries to show in which contexts Harrach wrote about Spain, the Spaniards, and Spanish culture.

*CARDINAL ERNST ADALBERT OF HARRACH:  
A SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW*

Ernst Adalbert of Harrach <sup>5</sup> was the second son of Baron Karl of Harrach (1570-1628) and his wife Maria Elisabeth of Schrattenbach (1575-1653). He belonged to one of the families among the Austrian nobility who remained

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*und Fürstendiener. Gundaker von Liechtenstein, ein österreichischer Aristokrat des konfessionellen Zeitalters*, Wien-München 1999, pp. 308-311; P. MAT'Á: *Svět české aristokracie (1500-1700)*, Praha 2004, pp. 723, 876, 906, 909; M. HENGERER: *Kaiserhof und Adel in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte der Macht in der Vormoderne*, Konstanz 2004; L. HÖBELT: *Ferdinand III. Friedenskaiser wider Willen*, Graz 2008.

<sup>4</sup> K. KELLER, A. CATALANO (eds.): *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598-1667). Edition und Kommentar*, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2010.

<sup>5</sup> If not differently noted, the following information are based on: A. CATALANO: *La Boemia e la riconquista delle coscienze. Ernst Adalbert von Harrach e la controriforma in Europa centrale (1620-1667)*, premessa di A. Prosperi, Roma 2005 [tschech.: *Zápas o Svědomí. Kardinál Arnošt Vojtěch z Harrachu (1598-1667) a Protireformace v Čechách*, Praha 2008]; A. CATALANO: "Ernst Adalbert von Harrach tra Roma e Vienna", in V. BŮŽEK and P. KRÁL (eds.): *Šlechta v habsburské monarchii a císařský dvůr (1526-1740)*, České Budějovice 2003, pp. 305-330; F. KRÁSL: *Arnošt hrabě Harrach, kardinál Sv. Církve Římské a kníže-arcibiskup pražský. Historicko-kritické vyprávění náboženských poměrů v Čechách od roku 1623-1667*, Praha 1886; O. G. HARRACH: *Rohrau. Geschichtliche Skizze der Grafschaft mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deren Besitzer*, Teil 1: 1240-1688, Wien 1906; E. GATZ (ed.): *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, Bd. 2: 1448 bis 1648, Berlin 1996, pp. 169-172.

Catholic and loyal to the imperial family over generations. Thanks to his successful service as a diplomat, Baron Karl of Harrach was made a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece as well as was conferred the title of *Reichsgraf* (count of the Holy Roman Empire) in 1627. Family alliances, such as those sealed with the families of Breuner and Meggau, were of great importance for Karl of Harrach's political and social position at court. He continued to promote such alliances by marrying his children off to important families of court society: In 1620 his oldest son Leonhard VII Karl of Harrach (1594-1645) married a daughter of the most influential counsel and minister of Emperor Ferdinand II, Hans Ulrich of Eggenberg Duke of Krumau (1568-1634). The marriages of his other three daughters strengthened the connection to Bohemia, where the family had acquired more and more land over the years. In 1618 Katharina (1599-1640) married Maximilian of Waldstein (†1655), in 1623 Isabella Katharina (1601-1655) wedded Albrecht of Wallenstein Duke of Friedland (†1634), and in 1627 Maria Maximiliana (1608-1661) got married to Adam Erdmann Trčka (†1634).

Ernst Adalbert of Harrach was born on November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1598. Like many of his fellow clerics, he enjoyed an education suited to the pursuit of a theological career. He studied the *humaniora* in Vienna and at the Jesuit colleges in Český Krumlov and Jindřichův Hradec. In November 1616 he was accepted as a student by the Collegium Germanicum in Rome. After almost four years he completed his studies in Rome, in 1620, and dedicated his *conclusio* in philosophy to the cardinal *nepote* Scipione Borghese (1576-1633). In early 1621 Ernst Adalbert of Harrach became *cameriere segreto* of Pope Gregor XV Ludovisi (1554-1623). His nomination for the position of archbishop of Prague by Emperor Ferdinand II in 1622 marks the first high point of his career. Still in Rome, Pope Urban VIII Barberini (1568-1644) consecrated the young priest bishop. In 1626 Ernst Adalbert was appointed cardinal, again due to interference of the Emperor on his behalf.

Harrach's first years as archbishop of Prague were devoted to the successful enforcement of the Counter-Reformation in Bohemia. With regard to the broad Catholic revival in Bohemia, carried through mainly by imperial decrees, Harrach advocated a moderate course of action by pleading with the Reformation commissioners, for instance by calling for more benign practices in their work of conversion. However, there was not a doubt about Harrach's constant and whole hearted support of the political aims of Emperor Ferdinand II. In due course of

time permanent differences with the Jesuits, especially over the control of the University of Prague, emerged as a serious hindrance to Harrach's work as archbishop as well as to his future career all around.

The downfall of Wallenstein in 1634 was a further factor detrimental to his situation. Owing to close family connections the political and social conflicts resulting from it affected directly the Cardinal and his siblings. Especially the three brothers Leonhard Karl, Ernst Adalbert and Franz Albrecht of Harrach (1614–1666) had to fight for the family possessions and had to do without the generous support of Wallenstein as well as a wide social network in the future. Notwithstanding his brothers climbed the social ladder again: while Leonhard Karl became *Obersthofmeister* (high steward) of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Franz Albrecht was appointed *Kämmerer* (chamberlain) and *Oberststallmeister* (master of the stables) of Emperor Ferdinand III in the fifties of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After the death of her second husband Johann Wilhelm of Scherffenberg (1610–1645) their sister Maria Maximiliana became *Fräuleinhofmeisterin* (mistress of the ladies) in Vienna in 1651 and held this position until her death ten years later<sup>6</sup>. The offices previously mentioned demonstrate, however, that the children of Karl of Harrach were not part of the courtly society's core as clearly as their father had been.

The differences with the Jesuits aggravated in the wake of the foundation of the archiepiscopal seminar by Ernst Adalbert in 1635, with a view to educating a qualified group of junior priests to work in Bohemia. The forties of the 17<sup>th</sup> century were characterised by a direct conflict between the Cardinal-Archbishop and Emperor Ferdinand III as well as the Jesuits. The differences between Harrach as a representative of the post-tridentinian church and the Emperor as a representative of the more and more strengthened early modern state was wide. The Archbishop pursued the aim of a strong position in ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Emperor in contrast strived for a weak church and for control over it by the state. Not until the second half of the forties, especially after the conclave in 1644, the cardinal succeeded in regaining the confidence of the emperor and the court.

The end of the Thirty Years' War, coupled with a generational change of Bohemian politicians, mark the starting point of new reform efforts. Strengthened in his personal authority and supported by the vicar general Juan

<sup>6</sup> K. KELLER: *Hofdamen, Amtsträgerinnen im Wiener Hofstaat des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2005, p. 315.

Caramuel y Lobkowitz (1606–1682), Harrach's aspirations prevailed. The final years of the Cardinal's life saw a return of his reputation and a restoration of imperial confidence in his person. Three important events testify to this: In 1665, upon the personal request of Emperor Leopold I and Pope Alexander VII Chigi (1599–1667), Ernst Adalbert was bestowed the prestigious title of the diocese Trent. In the following year the Emperor entrusted him with the task of welcoming his Spanish bride Margarita Teresa and accompanying her from Italy to Vienna. During his third conclave in 1667 Harrach played a major role in the election of Pope Clemens IX Rospigliosi (1600–1669) who was sympathetic to the casa de Austria. On his return journey from Rome to Vienna Ernst Adalbert of Harrach died on October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1667.

#### *MODE OF TRADITION AND COMMUNICATION NETWORK*<sup>7</sup>

The corpus of diaries and *Tagzettel* begin with Italian records<sup>8</sup>—after a single entry in 1629—in the year of 1630. Up until 1637 the texts are characterized by short entries in manuscripts. The form and content of this corpus correspond most closely to other German language diaries in the *Schreibkalender* (calendar notes) tradition of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>. A break in his writing style can be noticed in 1637, the year marked by the first parallel appearance of German and Italian notes. In this year Harrach started out with short entries, which he changed to a more elaborate style of narration that enabled him more effectively to put down in writing his personal activities as well as his official undertakings as an

<sup>7</sup> For the following also see K. KELLER, „Einführung“, in K. KELLER, A. CATALANO (eds.): *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–58.

<sup>8</sup> K. KELLER, A. CATALANO (eds.): *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach...*, *op. cit.*, vol. II to IV.

<sup>9</sup> H. MEISE: *Das archivierte Ich. Schreibkalender und höfische Repräsentation in Hessen-Darmstadt 1624–1700*, Darmstadt 2002; M. KOLDINSKÁ, P. MAT'A (eds.): *Deník rudolfínského dvora. Adam mladší z Valdštejna 1602–1633*, Praha 1997; R. JACOBSEN, J. BRANDSCH (eds.): *Friedrich I., Herzog von Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg: Die Tagebücher 1667–1686*, 3 vols., Weimar 1998, 2000, 2003; M. SCHEUTZ, H. TERSCH (eds.): *Trauer und Gedächtnis: Zwei österreichische Frauentagebücher des konfessionellen Zeitalters (1597–1611, 1647–1653)*, Wien 2003.

emissary of Emperor Ferdinand III in Rome. These written records conform unmistakably to the formal attributes of a diary <sup>10</sup>.

The tradition of the German texts <sup>11</sup> begins with 1637 and is divided in two parts: notes on loose paper on the one hand and three big volumes of quarto format on the other hand. After the reorganisation of the Harrach family archive in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Ferdinand Menčík <sup>12</sup> the *Tagzettel* which were written on one or more, center-folded paper have been sorted mainly into his brother Franz Albrecht's correspondence from the Cardinal. This allocation, however, is consistent to a large extent with the original tradition only for the first volumes (1637-1641). Concerning the volumes from 1644 until 1655 Menčík sorted probably texts, which the Cardinal marked personally with 'tagzettel mio' and the date of dispatch, chronologically into the correspondence of Franz Albrecht. In contrast to the Italian tradition the German texts show in general continuously an elaborate narration style. The Cardinal began each accounting by stating date and place. The fitting term *Tagzettel* in German or rather *foglietto* in Italian describing this tradition was penned by Harrach himself in the German tradition. We decided to adopt it for the project and the edition, because Harrach's writings comply neither with formalities of a diary or calendary notes nor with a chronicle or a letter.

Furthermore based on the analysis of the Italian and German tradition we concluded that contrary to the Italian texts which were only destined for private use as a diary the Cardinal intended the German *Tagzettel* for distribution of information among his family members, friends, and colleagues. This is supported by the complex outer appearance of the tradition <sup>13</sup>. The German

<sup>10</sup> E. KORMANN: *Ich, Welt und Gott. Autobiographik im 17. Jahrhundert*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2004, pp. 43-101; G. R. HOCKE: *Das europäische Tagebuch*, 2<sup>a</sup> ed., Frankfurt am Main 1992; R.-R. WUTHENOW: *Europäische Tagebücher. Eigenart, Formen, Entwicklung*, Darmstadt 1990.

<sup>11</sup> K. KELLER, A. CATALANO (eds.): *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach...*, *op. cit.*, vol. IV to VII.

<sup>12</sup> F. MENČÍK: „Gräfllich Harrachsches Archiv in Wien“, *Archivalien zur neueren Geschichte Österreichs*, Wien 1913, pp. 323-344.

<sup>13</sup> See already A. CATALANO: „Die Tagebücher und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach“, in J. PAUSER, M. SCHEUTZ, T. WINKELBAUER (eds.): *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.-18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*, Wien-München 2004, pp. 781-789; A. CATALANO: “Il diario italiano di Ernst Adalbert von Harrach

notes are neither only a collection of events nor a memory book or a personal contemplation. They are proof of a strong interest to communicate. As form and content of the majority of these notes combine the requirements of a letter as well as a handwritten newspaper, the *Tagzettel* can be characterized as a personal letter-newspaper for the Harrach family. They were included in Ernst Adalbert's letters as an addition to the normal correspondence and thus comply in form and way of delivery with handwritten newspapers which firstly appeared in the circle of humanists and in diplomatic correspondence at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and became later on the most important source of political and economical information<sup>14</sup>. Of similar collections and series that exist in various German archives today the best known example is the series of the Fugger handwritten newspaper<sup>15</sup>. Already at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century journalism saw in this correspondence one of the roots of the printed newspaper in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The *Tagzettel* of Cardinal Harrach are such a written newspaper used by him to distribute information among his wide spread circle of family members and friends. The German *Tagzettel* were collected, exchanged, and discussed within this circle as well as outside of this group.

The number of addressees of the *Tagzettel* grew slowly to a true correspondence and communication network over years. The initial point can be found in the year 1637. The journey and the extended stay in Rome

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(1598-1667)", in S. GRACIOTTI, J. KŘESÁLKOVÁ (eds.): *Barocco in Italia, Barocco in Boemia. Uomini, idee e forme d'arte a confronto*, Roma 2002, pp. 269-290.

<sup>14</sup> R. GRASSHOFF: *Die briefliche Zeitung des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Phil. Diss., Leipzig 1877; H. BÖNING: „Weltaneignung durch ein neues Publikum. Zeitungen und Zeitschriften als Medientypen der Moderne“, in J. BURKHARDT, Ch. WERKSTETTER (eds.): *Kommunikation und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, München 2005, pp. 105-134; A. CATALANO: „Die Tagebücher und Tagzettel...“, *op. cit.*, pp. 783-785.

<sup>15</sup> M. SCHILLING: „Die Fuggerzeitungen“, in J. PAUSER, M. SCHEUTZ, T. WINKELBAUER (eds.): *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 875-880; C. ZWIERLEIN: *Discorso und Lex Dei. Die Entstehung neuer Denkrahmen im 16. Jahrhundert und die Wahrnehmung der französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland*, Göttingen 2006, pp. 574-610; Z. BARBARICS, R. PIEPER: „Handwritten Newsletters as a means of Communication in Early modern Europe“, in F. BETHENCOURT, F. EGMOND (eds.): *Cultural Exchange in Early modern Europe*, Bd. 3: *Correspondence and cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 53-79.

necessitated the distribution of the same information to more than one addressee. On December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1637 the Cardinal wrote to his brother: He sends the *Tagzettel*, ‘in order to notify everybody who belongs to our ‘Round Table’’<sup>16</sup>. His mother Maria Elisabeth of Harrach, who gave her *Tagzettel* to all relatives in Vienna or Bruck an der Leitha, his brothers Otto Friedrich (1610–1639) and Franz Albrecht of Harrach belonged to the ‘Round Table’. The number of addressees of the German *Tagzettel* grew from the forties up to the sixties. Many names were identified by reviewing the correspondence inventory<sup>17</sup> which the Cardinal kept in Italian over many years. The increase in number of addressees of *Tagzettel* since the end of the thirties of the 17<sup>th</sup> century manifests itself very quickly.

Based on Harrach’s correspondence inventory of 1642 at least seven addressees received *Tagzettel*. However, not all seven received them always weekly because several people shared sometimes the same *Tagzettel*. For the fifties it can be assumed that around ten addressees got *Tagzettel* simultaneously. Around 1660 the number increased up to 15. However, as the *Tagzettel* were shared among friends and family members, the actual number of readers was considerably larger<sup>18</sup>. References to this sharing can be found in various points throughout the tradition such as in 1662 when the Cardinal wrote to Sabina Isabella of Kollonitsch (†1677) and requested the forwarding of those *Tagzettel* also to Karl Friedrich of Rappach (1620–1664) and to Eva Christina of Kuefstein

<sup>16</sup> “*per comunicarla a tutti noi de la table ronde*”, Harrach to Franz Albrecht of Harrach: ÖStA, AVA, Familienarchiv Harrach, cardboard box 439, 11.12.1637. An example at the end of the tradition:

“June 20<sup>th</sup> 1667, Rome ... Cousin Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach should give this *Tagzettel* to the colonel chamberlain and to his Majesty himself, then I will write to his Majesty very briefly... (20. [junii 1667, Rom] ... *Der herr vetter [Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach] mage dise tagzettel den herrn obrist cammerer und woll ihr Mayestet selbstn sehen lassen, dan ich schreibe ihr Mayestet gar khurtz...*)” (*Ibidem* cardboard box 245).

<sup>17</sup> Lists exist for the following volumes: ÖStA, AVA, Familienarchiv Harrach, HS 3 (1637); HS 268 (1640–1644); HS 298 (1646–1647); HS 329 (1650); HS 330 (1651); HS 331 (1652); HS 525 (1653); HS 332 (1654); HS 333 (1655); HS 178 (1655); HS 334 (1655–1656); HS 335 (1657); HS 279 (1656, 1659–1661); HS 336 (1660); HS 499 (1662); HS 276 (1663); HS 280 (1665); HS 337 (1666–1667).

<sup>18</sup> K. KELLER: „Einführung“, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–56.



(†1668)<sup>19</sup>. Harrach asked Eva Christina to write his nephew Leonhard Ulrich of Harrach (1621-1689) that he should send her the *Tagzettel*<sup>20</sup>. In the final years of Harrach's life the number of addressees decreased due to death of relatives and old friends.

While writing his *Tagzettel* the Cardinal always bore in mind the different interests of his addressees. As a result he placed different content-related emphasis and selected the information which should be distributed in accordance with the interests of the addressee<sup>21</sup>. Furthermore based on content and form the Italian texts can be characterized as calendar notes which were intended only for private use by the Cardinal and thus contain much more intimate details. The German texts, however, were always destined for a broad public. This is supported by the fact that since 1644 the Cardinal always wrote in the third person. Simultaneously they fulfilled for all addressees a similar function as the *Ordinari-Zeitung* (newspaper) of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by informing them about current events. Harrach did not only obtain more than one newspaper but also his agents in Rome, Venice and Vienna provided him with latest information<sup>22</sup>. Thus Harrach's newspaper respectively *Tagzettel* were sometimes the latest which one could get in the Habsburg monarchy.

The correspondence and communication network of Cardinal Harrach was not singular during his time. In various archives similar *Tagzettel*<sup>23</sup> exist which were transported by the postal service of Thurn and Taxis from Rome to

<sup>19</sup> “*Dimanda licenza da puoter comunicare i miei foglietti al signor di Rappach e signora di Kuffstain*”, ÖStA, AVA, Familienarchiv Harrach, HS 499, fol. 8r, 28.01.1662; further examples in A. CATALANO: „Die Tagebücher und Tagzettel...“, *op. cit.*, pp. 785f.

<sup>20</sup> Also 1655, when Harrach stayed in Rome, the *Tagzettel* were sent regularly to his suffragan Giuseppe Corti who “should exchange them with all the others in Prague and make copies also for [Siegmund Friedrich von] GöÖtz and for the administrator [of Harrach's estates]” (“*col foglietto da comunicare a tutti di Praga con farne far copia anche per il Götz e regente*”), Harrach to Corti, ÖStA, AVA, Familienarchiv Harrach, HS 334, not paginated, 17.01.1655.

<sup>21</sup> This is supported especially by marginal notes which informed the scribe which part of the document had to be omitted depending on the addressee. That this was really carried out is documented by the existing copies of *Tagzettel* to Ferdinand Bonaventura of Harrach, see ÖStA, AVA, Familienarchiv Harrach, cardboard box 243-245.

<sup>22</sup> K. KELLER: „Einführung“, *op. cit.*, pp. 48f.

<sup>23</sup> A. CATALANO: „Die Tagebücher und Tagzettel...“, *op. cit.*, p. 785.

Vienna, from Venice to Paris and so on. However, the Cardinal's *Tagzettel* are still exceptional because they were generated and distributed. The lingual and cultural diversity is reflected in the personal environment of the Cardinal as well as in the one of his circle of acquaintances. Today it is rather difficult to estimate correctly the actual extent of this phenomenon because not a lot of research has been done about handwritten newspapers of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>24</sup>. Consequently progression and target group can only be determined roughly.

#### *THE CONTENT OF THE TAGZETTEL: SPANISH OBSERVATIONS*

The contents of the German *Tagzettel* and Italian diaries relates to various subjects. On the one hand the Cardinal writes about his private life and personal experiences. His account is often so detailed that his entire daily routine can be reconstructed. On the other hand Harrach recorded news about his acquaintances and family members, who either stayed at the same place as he did, or kept in touch with him via letters or *Tagzettel*. This wide and very personal framework of observation characterizes the Italian as well as the German notes. The Italian diaries contain much more intimate details than the German *Tagzettel* which carry more information about political and military events throughout Europe. Harrach included news he got from printed and handwritten newspapers<sup>25</sup> or from people with whom he exchanged letters.

<sup>24</sup> J. KLEINPAUL: *Das Nachrichtenwesen der deutschen Fürsten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1930; Th. SCHRÖDER: *Die ersten Zeitungen. Textgestaltung und Nachrichtenauswahl*, Tübingen 1995, pp. 10-13; S. M. SEIDLER: *„Il teatro del mondo“. Diplomatische und journalistische Relationen vom römischen Hof aus dem 17. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1996, pp. 40f.

<sup>25</sup> “October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1646, Prague. The Augsburg newspaper did not come for a long time and thus confirms that the delivery of post is hindered...” („6. oktober 1646, Prag. Daß augspurger zeitungblätell bleibet uß schon vill zeit auß, confirmiret darmit daß die post selbigen lauff nimmer frey hatt...“). Or:

“August 19<sup>th</sup>, 1661, Prague ... The Reichsblätell corroborates the news of the defeat of 6,000 Portuguese including their general Friedrich Hermann of Schomberg who is supposed to be a German. Also Don Giovanni d’Austria might have received a blow to his chest. Idem reports a victory to sea by Venice that lost in fact six galleys and captured seven Turkish galleys. It is further said that the entire

In the Italian diaries this aspect is not as conspicuous. They focus more on details about the clerical work of the Cardinal-Archbishop and about events as well as meetings in Rome and about the court ceremonial.

The question to pose now is: How does Cardinal Harrach refer to Spain and the Spaniards?

In my opinion one can identify four areas which were in Harrach's focus with reference to Spain:

The first and the most frequent mentioned context was war and peace. In the volumes up to 1648, the events of the Thirty Years' War overshadow any other occurrence in the Holy Roman Empire. Although Harrach did not go into details, he describes troop movements and battles, including those which took place outside of Bohemia or rather the hereditary lands of the Habsburgs. For instance he provides an account of the conflicts between Spain and France in Catalonia and in the Spanish Netherlands. In 1644 when Harrach was in Rome he observed the struggles in Catalonia. Two years later we find in his diary and in the *Tagzettel* many information concerning the beginning of the regency of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614-1662) in the Spanish Netherlands. Between 1646 and 1649, the Cardinal regularly took notes <sup>26</sup> on the war in the Netherlands against France. Also in the *Tagzettel*, but later in 1652 one can read more than a dozen reports of the siege of Barcelona <sup>27</sup>. Besides this he observed the events in Naples, the rebellion of Masaniello <sup>28</sup>, in the years 1647 and 1648, and in the summer of 1667 –Harrach attended another conclave in Rome– he

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Turkish fleet is separated and annihilated. If that is true, the *hinckhende Bote* will tell" („19. augusti 1661, Prag ... Das reichsblattell bestetiget die zeitung von der niderlag der 6.000 portugeser sambt ihrem general [Friedrich Hermann von Schomberg], der ein hochteütscher gewesen sein solle, und das auch der don Giovanni d'Austria einen gueten stoß auf die brust bekhommen. Item meldet es von einer victori der venediger zu meer, da sie selbst 6 galeren verlohren, aber 7 türckhische hingegen erobert, und die ganze türckhische flotta von einander getrennet und zerstöhret haben sollen, was daran wahr, wirdt der hinckhende bott weiter bringen“).

<sup>26</sup> 1646 Nov. 16, 22 – 1647 Jan. 5, 6, 10, 18, 19; Febr. 9, 13; May 30; June 5, 10, 19, 24; July 1, 7, 9, 22, 28; Aug. 2, 12, 20 – 1647 June 6, 19; July 3, 4, 22; Aug. 6-8 – 1649 April 23.

<sup>27</sup> 1652 Febr. 10; Marz. 2, 23, 30; May 14, 28, 30; June 8, 12; July 26; Aug. 1, 4, 16, 21; Sept. 14, 25; Nov. 21; Dec. 19, 28 – 1652 Nov. 21.

<sup>28</sup> 1647 Nov. 9 – 1647 Oct. 31; Dec. 11 – 1648 April 22; July 2, 11 – 1648 April 22.

observed and commented the first time of the War of Devolution between France and Spain (for example the siege and the fall of Lille<sup>29</sup>).

But he also paid attention to peace negotiations. For example the *Tagzettel* contain regular information and commentaries about the progress of peace negotiations in Münster and Osnabrück. The imperial envoys, Johann Maximilian of Lamberg (1608–1682) and Ferdinand Ernst of Waldstein (~1624–1656), the latter being Harrach's nephew, kept the Cardinal informed about ongoing developments. In 1646 we hear about negotiations of an armistice between Spain and the Netherlands<sup>30</sup> and sometimes Harrach makes a note on the role of Spain in the negotiations of the Westfalian peace. In the years after 1656 he paid more attention to the negotiations between France and Spain and to their final conclusion: the Treaty of the Pyrenees. Points of interest in this context are for example the note of the Cardinal about the negotiations in connection with the coronation of Leopold I in Frankfurt<sup>31</sup> and the continuous notes about the progress of the talks between Jules Mazarin and Luis de Haro in spring and summer of 1659<sup>32</sup>.

In summary we can observe, that Harrach had a widespread interest in Spanish politics and military actions. It is obvious that during the Thirty Years War he observed closely the struggles in the Holy Roman Empire and in the Spanish Netherlands. But he never looked only on his direct surroundings in political regard as events taking place in Spain and Italy were not neglected either. Nevertheless, the war between Spain and Portugal after 1640 and the struggles in Northern Italy were more on the edge of his interests, and after 1654 he paid more attention to the struggles in Northern Europe between Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark than to Spain and Italy. This shows in my opinion that a "Habsburgian world" was in the focus of his interests, but a "Habsburgian world" with the imperial court as center. Although Harrach concentrated on the politics in the Holy Roman Empire and the family connections between Vienna and Madrid – the marriage between France and Spain in 1660 was a very important point in the diaries and *Tagzettel* in the

<sup>29</sup> 1667 June 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 22, 28; July 3, 5, 12, 13, 21, 25; Aug. 4, 5, 10, 22, 25; Sept. 7, 8, 14, 20 – 1667 June 16; July 5, 12, 18.

<sup>30</sup> 1646 June 11.

<sup>31</sup> 1657 Dec. 1.

<sup>32</sup> 1659 Marz. 26; May 1, 20; Aug. 2, 3; Oct. 1, 4; Nov. 27; Dec. 10.

context of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, the reader of his diaries and *Tagzettel* notice that Harrach elaborated more on the common interests of the Spanish and the German Habsburgs.

This is not really surprising if we take into consideration another political subject which played a considerable role in Harrach's notes: his own activities during his journeys to Rome. While in 1632 and 1637 he travelled on a diplomatic mission to Rome, in 1644, 1655 and 1667 he did so to participate in the conclave. In addition to the detailed daily notes written in Italian for the year 1637, the notes on the conclaves are of special interest<sup>33</sup>, because here the Cardinal not only recorded the poll results, but also related conversations and negotiations from the point of view of a member of the Spanish party of the College of Cardinals. For example, on June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1667 the Cardinal writes, while in Rome:

The French cardinals watch out for their king's interests very carefully... In accordance with my orders I will not stop negotiations with the trusted cardinals, and I am doing my best to support the election but the business cannot be hurried. Our faction is too weak to be able to propose and enforce other rules. We just have to wait until the right one comes and then we won't miss him. Unless the French put up an opposition, Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi might be chosen, as he enjoys the support of the Aura del Collegio, and as he is not in the best of health, one might believe that he will not live for more than 2 or 3 years<sup>34</sup>.

Harrach saw himself as protector of both, Spanish and German Habsburg's interests in Rome. Like I mentioned before, the most important point in this context were the conclaves. This is illustrated for example by the financial

<sup>33</sup> Italian diaries from August 10<sup>th</sup> till September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1644, February 7<sup>th</sup> till April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1655, June 3<sup>rd</sup> till June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1667; German *Tagzettel* from June 4<sup>th</sup> till June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1667.

<sup>34</sup> „14. [junii 1667, Rom] Die französische cardinales sein woll sehr achtsamb auf alle ihres Khönigs [Ludwig XIV. von Frankreich] interessen. ... Ich manhire nicht zu folg meiner instruction mitt den cardinalen confidenten aufs fleißigste zu correspondiren, und mein möglichstes zu thun die wahlh zubefürderen, aber die sach laßet sich nicht ubereilen. Unser faction ist zu schwach das sie andern leges vorschreiben khünfte, müeßen nur erwarten biß der, der unß angenemb, auf die tafell khommet, hernach wollen wier unser zeit nicht versaumen, und es möchte woll das loß den cardinal [Giulio] Rospigliosi trefen, der hatt vor andern l'aura del collegio, und ist etwas matt von gesundtheit, das man mainet er werde uber 2 oder 3 jahr nicht außleben, wan ihme nur nicht die franzosen eine opposition machen...“.

support from the Spanish crown for every journey to Rome<sup>35</sup>. Unfortunately, the payments from Spain or Naples were often overdue and Cardinal Harrach has often reason to complain in this regard. As concerning this part of Harrach's activities and his political role Alessandro Catalano already wrote extensively in his contribution<sup>36</sup>, I will move on to a third point which Harrach stressed more frequently in his diaries than in his *Tagzettel*: Courtly events and daily life at court.

Naturally, the imperial court at Vienna or Prague played a greater importance in his notes than the Spanish court. But besides some irregular remarks about the court in Madrid<sup>37</sup> twice the diary or the *Tagzettel* comprises very interesting information about courtly life: In winter of 1648/49 the Cardinal accompanied the bride of the King of Spain Philip IV (1605-1665), Archduchess Maria Anna (1634-1696), on her journey to Spain up to Rovereto<sup>38</sup>. Years later, in autumn of 1666 once more in Rovereto Harrach welcomed her daughter Margarita Teresa (1651-1673) as bride of Emperor Leopold I (1640-

<sup>35</sup> 1665 Oct. 7:

“The Cardinal received a letter from the Spanisch ambassador [at Rome Cristóbal de Rojas] who requested him to travel to Rome if his papal Holyness [Alexander VII.] will be ill another time. Its easy to suggest such a long journey but difficult to do if one not procures the resources at the same time. It's very good that the Pope is now in good health again and so the journey will be not necessary”. („*Der cardinal hatt einen brief von dem spanischen ambasciator [Cristóbal de Rojas] bekhommen, darinnen er ihn ersuechet, wan ihr pabstliche Heiligkeit [Alexander VII.] ein neüer ubler zuestandt betrefen solte, das er gen Rom khommen wolle, es ist aber leicht eine solche weite raiß angetragen, aber wan man die mittell nicht auch zugleich darzue verschaffet, schwär vorzunehmen. Das beste ist das der Pabst schon wider woll auf ist, und es diser mühe nicht weiter bedarf*“).

<sup>36</sup> See the contribution of Alessandro Catalano in this volume.

<sup>37</sup> 1661 Jan. 30; Dec. 26 – 1652, Dec. 27:

“Instead of the Duke of Maqueda who died the Marques de Altamira should become now Great Master of the Household of the Queen of Spain, and Great Master of the Stables should become Don Francisco de Borja”. („*An statt deß duca [Jaime Manuel] di Maqueda welcher gestorben, solle jezundt der Khönigin in Hispanien [Maria Anna von Spanien] obrister hofmaister der marchese [Gaspar de] de Altamira, und obrister stallmaister der don Francisco de Borgia [de Gandía] worden sein*“).

<sup>38</sup> Italian notes from November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1648 till June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1649.

1705), and accompanied her over the snow-capped Alps to Vienna <sup>39</sup>. In the weeks or months in Trent and on the journeys from and to Vienna, one can find many remarks in the diaries of the Cardinal, primarily regarding problems of coordination between the Spanish and the German parts of the entourage.

In the case of the first bride, Queen Maria Anna, Harrach remarked in his notes some observations already in Vienna. For example he mentioned the betrothal of the Archduchess with the Spanish King on June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1647. The Spanish ambassador Diego de Terranova informed the girl (she was only 12 years old), that the King had chosen her as his wife. From this day on, Harrach called her Queen of Spain, and from this day on she had to follow the requirements of the Spanish court ceremonial. A consequence was for example that Maria Anna was not allowed to eat at the same table with men. At the imperial court this was very unusual. Harrach commented on this two or three times such as on January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1648:

Last Sunday in Vienna at the court of the Empress Eleonora the wedding of Johanna Franziska Breuner with the widowed Georg Christoph of Wilfersdorf was held. King Ferdinand IV and Archduke Leopold I attended the wedding but not the Queen or her ladies. Because one can not invite her out of consideration for the usual Spanish ceremonial according to them the Queen do not eat with any man at the same table <sup>40</sup>.

Besides this he noted ceremonial problems with the rank of the young Queen and her brother Ferdinand IV., King of Bohemia and Hungary <sup>41</sup>.

Late in autumn of 1648 (November 8<sup>th</sup>), Cardinal Harrach celebrated the marriage ceremony per procura in Vienna and after that he accompanied Queen Maria Anna to Rovereto where the Queen was handed over to her Spanish Master of the Household Jaime de Maqueda. But the journey to Tyrol and the months of waiting in Trent were characterized by a lot of ceremonial conflicts in the entourage of the Queen and with other companions of her travel. Then

<sup>39</sup> German Tagzettel from September 12<sup>th</sup> till December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1666.

<sup>40</sup> “*Domenica passata furno fatte in Vienna appresso l’Imperatrice Leonora [Eleonora] le nozze della freille Fränzl Breinerin [Johanna Franziska Breuner] col signor [Georg Christoph] di Wilfferstorff vedovo. V’intervenue il Re [Ferdinand IV] et il principino [Leopold], ma non la Regina [Maria Anna of Spanien] né le sue dame, perché non si poterono invitare rispetto al ceremoniale spagnolo introdotto, che la Regina non mangi con alcun huomo a tavola*” (See also 1648 Jan. 11).

<sup>41</sup> 1648 Sept. 28.

Cardinal Harrach was not the most high ranking person in the company, as with Maria Anna her older brother King Ferdinand IV travelled. Besides him one can find also his noble entourage and his Master of the Household Johann Weikhard of Auersperg and the Spanish ambassador in Vienna, Diego de Terranova. Furthermore, in spring of 1649 –the Queen had to wait for her Spanish entourage until May 1649– also the Tyrolean Archdukes Ferdinand Karl and Sigismund Franz paid a visit in Trent.

The notes of Cardinal Harrach for these months are full of comments about ceremonial conflicts and often it was the Cardinal who had to arbitrate between the opposing parties. Again and again we read about the conflict between Auersperg and Terranova because the latter claimed an accommodation in the palace Palazzo Buonconsiglio like Auersperg had <sup>42</sup>. A church visit of the Queen on December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1648 was cancelled because a pedestal which was necessary for the Queen of Spain in a church out of the royal palace, was missing as Terranova noted <sup>43</sup>.

One remark of the Cardinal from the other journey when he brought Maria Annas daughter Margarita Teresa as the new Empress from Rovereto to Vienna demonstrates the repeated problems between both princely courts. Harrach wrote on October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1666:

The cavaliers would like to be courtly and helped the [Spanish] ladies from the coaches. They protected them from the rain with their hats and would have taken them on their hands the staircase up. But the guarda damas cried to them, ‘Señores non tocaren’, and the cavaliers were very annoyed with this and had lost all interest to help the ladies another time <sup>44</sup>.

It seems that the notices in Harrach’s diaries about these conflicts and problems show us in an very practical way the differences between the court ceremonial in Madrid and in Vienna. Although it is true that we gain insight only in a part of the whole court through Harrach’s notes, but the focus lied primarily

<sup>42</sup> For example 1648 Dec. 13, 16 – 1649 Jan. 12.

<sup>43</sup> 1648 Dec. 24.

<sup>44</sup> „Die cavalieri haben wollen höflich sein, haben den damas auß den wägen geholfen, sie mitt ihren hüeten vor dem regen bedeckhet, und die stiegen hinauf bei der handt führen wollen, es hatt ihnen aber der guarda damas also baldt zuegeschrieen, Señores non tocaren, welches ihnen greülich verschmacht hatt, und den lust vergehen gemacht ihnen ein anderesmahll in dergleichen nöthen mehr zu assistiren“.



on the entourage or the household of the Queen and so one can find here very useful information about a long time neglected part of the imperial and royal household. In addition we have to point out that Harrach often described court ceremonies in his diaries and *Tagzettel* and sometimes he marked adaptations of the Viennese court ceremonial out of considerations for the Spanish ceremonial or strength of Spanish influences. This holds true in the case of the meals at court, and in the description of the wedding ceremony in Vienna in November 1648 or of the Easter ceremonies in Trent in 1649. In the first case Ernst Adalbert of Harrach emphasizes that the bride was dressed in Spanish style and answered on his question if she would marry the King on Spanish. In the second case Harrach's description of the ceremony suggests that the young Queen and the Tyrolean Archduchesses in Trent came to the church in Spanish clothes<sup>45</sup>.

And in October 1666 Harrach described in detail the way in which Empress Margarita Teresa had her breakfast:

Her Majesty sits on two cushions at a low small table. On this table one served her one dish after the another and she tasted only a little from each. She has no fruits on her table, only things like paste di Genova and a little bit of confectionery, and her Majesty drinks nothing until the end of her meal when she takes half a glass of water with cinnamon<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> 1648 Nov. 8:

*“Finito il sermone s'accostorno le Persone Regie, la Regina a man dritta, et il Re a man manca, vestito alla spagnola. Et io dimandai al Re se voleva mandatario nomine et in animam sui principalis la presente sposa per sua moglie, et egli rispose Mandatario nomine in animam mei principalis volo. Poi la Regina, se lei similmente voleva il Re di Spagna [Philipp IV] per suo marito. Ella guardando prima l'Imperatore, disse Si quiero”.*

1649 April 1:

*“La Regina [Maria Anna of Spanien] doppo sentite 2 messe ha lavato li piedi alli poveri, alla qual cerimonia sono intervenuto ancora io. Così a lei, come alle arciduchesse [Anna, Isabella Clara of Tirol] attaccorno di dietro un gran velo negro a forma di manto, et a tempo suo d'avanti un fürtuech, quale le arciduchesse hebbero formale di schlayr”.*

<sup>46</sup> 1666 Oct. 19:

*„Sie sitzen auf 2 pölster an einen niederen tischell, darauf traget man ihr ein speiß nach der andern auf, und sie khostet von den maisten nur etwaß weniges. Von obst wirdt nichts aufgesetzt, nur lauter sachen von paste di Genova und etwaß von confect, und trinken ihr Mayestet nichts, alß bieß zum beschluß der mahlzeit ein halbes glaß zimmet waßer“.*

The travels of the royal or imperial brides takes us to a forth point:, the exchange between Spain and the Habsburg hereditary lands in the context of journeys. We can find some examples for travelling in the Harrach diaries such as the journey of Adam Matthias of Trauttmansdorff, the first born son of the most influential minister in Vienna in the thirties and forties of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He stayed in Madrid for some weeks in the winter of 1638/39 <sup>47</sup>. But more often we find the names of noble men from Spain who travelled to Vienna and the Habsburg hereditary lands to enter the Emperors military service like Baltasar de Marradas (1583-1638) and his relatives. We do not know how many came from Spain to Vienna or Bohemia but the notes of Cardinal Harrach indicate a very wide spectrum of travelling persons: Spanish ambassadors, officers like Marradas and Felix de Zuñiga, the entourage of the Spanish Empresses and persons such as the host of an inn in the Bohemian town Benešov who was probably a Spanish soldier and had married the widowed heiress of the inn <sup>48</sup>.

Like we do not know how many Spaniards came to the Habsburg hereditary lands, we also cannot make a statement to their length of stay and in which extent they brought cultural goods with them to central Europe. But it is widely known that travelling was very important for the exchange of cultural goods. Bianca Lindorfer outlines this in her very interesting study about Spain and the Austrian nobility in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Also the notes of Cardinal Harrach include more than one example for this. Although he was never in Spain one of the most prominent examples shows himself as a go-between of cultural goods.

A frequent suggestion in the literature is that in Vienna chocolate did not gain popularity until the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century under the reign of Emperor Charles VI. Scholars regard the rise of chocolate's popularity in Vienna as a consequence of the arrival of Spanish courtiers of this Emperor. But one of the first reliable sources concerning the consumption of chocolate among Austrian aristocrats dates from the year 1644. In the summer of that year, Ernst Adalbert of Harrach attended the conclave for the election of a successor to Urban VIII Barberini in Rome. In a note written on the September 9<sup>th</sup>,

<sup>47</sup> 1639 Jan. 23.

<sup>48</sup> 1650 Sept. 22. See also K. KELLER, A. CATALANO (eds.): *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach...*, *op. cit.*, Index with examples of German-Spanish marriages and Spaniards who live in Bohemia.

Harrach mentioned that he had drunk chocolate for the first time. The Archdeacon of Burgos, Egidio Carrillo de Albornoz (1579–1649), had served him the beverage <sup>49</sup>. In the following years the Cardinal frequently noted that he had served chocolate to his guests, or presented it as a gift to fellow aristocrats. His residence seemingly became the first place to go for the local elite who liked the exotica <sup>50</sup>. Another place was by the way the residence of the Spanish ambassador in Vienna or Prague. That suggest another note of Cardinal Harrach on October 24<sup>th</sup> in 1647: A physician provided Harrach with a special mixture, which he called cacao, “but the people of the Ambassador of Spain called cattò” <sup>51</sup>.

Finally I mention in brief that one can find also reference for Spanish recipes used in Vienna like Harrach’s very enthusiastic comment of a “Spanish oglia” which was served in Vienna in the house of Countess Judith Rebecca of Lamberg (†1690), the wife of the former imperial ambassador in Spain. And six

<sup>49</sup> B. M. LINDORFER, *Cosmopolitan Aristocracy and the Diffusion of Baroque Culture: Cultural Transfer from Spain to Austria in the Seventeenth Century*, Diss. Florence 2009, pp. 163–178. 1644 Sept. 9: “I tried at Albornoz for the first time the chocolate” (*“Ho provato la prima volta qua dentro appresso Albornoz la ciuccolada...”*).

<sup>50</sup> 1654 Mar. 15:

“For lunch I was at the house of the Count of the Prague castle [Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz] and gave his wife a little book with speeches from Konrad of Starhemberg and a receptacle of gildened leather with two and a half dozen pieces of chocolate...” (*“Sono stato a desinare dal burgravio [Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz]. E regalai la sua moglie [Veronika Polyxena] d’un libretto d’orationi del Conrado di Starnberg [Konrad Balthasar von Starhemberg], e d’una quantiera di tela d’oro con 2 dozzine e mezza di aliorras di ciuccolata...”*).

Other examples: 1660 April 18 – 1662 Aug. 30 – 1663 Febr. 19.

<sup>51</sup> “The physician brought me a mixture from something from India which he called cacao but the men of the ambassador of Spain [Diego de Terranova] called it cattó. A little piece of this taken under the tongue increased the salivation, pulls out of the head the catharrs and improves, at the beginning seems to be bitter, but at the end the mixture calms the mouth and produces a good appetite for eating”. (*“Il medico mi portò una certa mistura d’una robba dell’Indie, che il speciale chiama cacao, ma le genti dell’ambasciator di Spagna [Diego de Terranova] lo chiamano cattò, della quale un pezzo piccolo posto in bocca e lasciato squagliare sotto la lingua, provoca il sputare, et tira giù dalla testa li catarri, fortificandola, pare da principio amara, ma sull’ultimo indolcisce la bocca e genera buon appetito per mangiare”*).

years earlier the Cardinal tasted chicken with lime “in a Spanish fashion” cooked by Countess Ursula Katharina of Talmberg (†>1668) in the little Bohemian town Vlašim<sup>52</sup>. But in support of Ernst Adalbert of Harrach: he was not only interested in the secrets of the Spanish cuisine. On October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1641 he also read on his coach travelling from Prague to Červená Řečice Cervantes *Don Quichotte*...

#### SUMMARY

Ernst Adalbert of Harrach's *Tagzettel* were neither autobiographical-personal contemplation nor just a day-to-day account of events, but a series of mostly weekly delivered relations about his life that were intended for a specific circle of relatives and friends. What he wrote here and in the Italian diaries depended on his personal experience, on his correspondence from family members and acquaintances as well as on handwritten and printed newspapers. As a result owing to an extensive communication network he obtained information very quickly and distributed them in various communicative contexts. The *Tagzettel* are proof of an information exchange system kept by a circle of noble families and friends that had been established between Vienna, Prague, and Rome in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. His notes are documents which record a person's activities in his office (as archbishop of Prague and cardinal), in his family (as mentor to nephews, sisters, and close friends) and in the context of aristocratic society in the heritable territory of the Habsburg. In his records Cardinal Ernst Adalbert of Harrach connects European politics to the development in the hereditary lands of the Habsburgs and Spain to Central Europe as well as the Counter-Reformation to *Pietas Austriaca*.

Ernst Adalbert of Harrach himself was never in Spain, but he travelled often in Italy, he was in Milan and Naples and so he had direct contacts with noble men from Spain and could observe personally elements of the Spanish court culture. His journeys in 1648 and 1666 when he accompanied the young Queen of Spain or the new Empress from or to Vienna were another points of contact between him and the Spanish court culture. Besides this he was a man

<sup>52</sup> 1662 Oct. 22: „Wier sein gar woll tractirt worden, aber uber alles ist ein spanische oglie gewesen“. – 1656 Nov. 23: „Huhn ,auf den spanischen formb mitt den lemoni“.

with political interests who followed the political and military events of his time and made notices that shows his specific interests. And as Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church Harrach was a protagonist in politics, too. In three conclaves he tried to defend the political interests of both Habsburg crowns, the Spanish as much as the Imperial. His appointment as imperial privy councillor in 1648, the support of Emperor Leopold I for Harrach as Bishop of Trent in 1665 and the conferment of the “*naturalezza di Spagna*”<sup>53</sup> shows the esteem of the Cardinal from both sides. This are the reasons why one can find in the diaries and the *Tagzettel* a lot of references to Spain, Spanish politics, and Spanish nobility. And we hope that the edition of this very extensive source will open the possibility to connect his person to new researches about these contexts.

<sup>53</sup> 1647 May 22. And Harrach's nephew Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach received the Golden Fleece as a very young man (he was only 25 years old). It was argued that his uncle had done so much for the interests of the Spanish crown: 1661 Dec. 8 – 1665 Dec. 31.